DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 085 483 CE 000 525

| | |
|---|---|
| TITLE | New Patterns for Working Time; International Conference. (Paris, September 26-29, 1972). Final Report. |
| INSTITUTION | Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris (France). |
| PUB DATE | 73 |
| NOTE | 72p. |
| AVAILABLE FROM | Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development Publishing Center, 1750 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W., Washington D.C. 20006 ($2.25) |
| EDRS PRICE | MF-$0.65 HC Not Available from EDRS. |
| DESCRIPTORS | Employee Attitudes; Employer Attitudes; *Employer Employee Relationship; Employment Problems; *Flexible Scheduling; *Leisure Time; Released Time; *Working Hours |

ABSTRACT

The conference was arranged by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate to enable representatives of employers' associations, labor unions, senior civil servants and academics from member OECD countries to exchange views on more flexible arrangements of working time. The document presents a review of reports made to the conference and of the discussions which followed. The length of time worked has decreased over the past ten years. It therefore becomes increasingly necessary to consider life as a whole, rather than work and leisure separately. Freedom of choice as to the distribution of activities over the course of time is subject to constraints but they are not all inevitable. Trends are seen toward increasing flexibility in respect to total working time, arrangement of working time within the work day or work period, development of part time work, and additional training after the end of fulltime schooling. (SA)

ED 085483

CE

INTERNATIONAL SEMINARS 1972-1

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL BY MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
OECD
TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."

# NEW PATTERNS FOR WORKING TIME

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Paris, 26th-29th September, 1972

FINAL REPORT

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
Paris 1973

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

ED 085 483

INTERNATIONAL SEMINARS 1972-1

# NEW PATTERNS FOR WORKING TIME

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Paris, 26th-29th September, 1972

FINAL REPORT

CE 000 525

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
Paris 1973

*The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was set up under a Convention signed in Paris on 14th December, 1960, which provides that the OECD shall promote policies designed :*

- *— to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus to contribute to the development of the world economy;*
- *— to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development;*
- *— to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.*

*The Members of OECD are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.*

* * *

© Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1973.
Queries concerning permissions or translation rights should be addressed to :

Director of Information, OECD
2, rue André-Pascal, 75775 PARIS CEDEX 16, France.

## FOREWORD

This international Conference marks both an end and a beginning. It is the culmination of the many studies carried out by the OECD on problems related to greater flexibility in the allocation of time. At first these studies dealt with specific aspects, such as flexibility of retirement age, continuing or "recurring" education and training during working life, part-time and temporary employment, women returning to paid employment after time spent in looking after young children. Then followed a general review of all questions of flexibility in working life and new patterns for working time (throughout life, the year, the week and the day), and the opportunities for individual choice in using time for different purposes (work, studies, retirement and other leisure periods). A list of OECD publications is given at the end of this report.

Yet it is also a beginning, since it is the first attempt at an international public debate during which employers, workers, national and international officials and social scientists have been able to compare conclusions based on actual experience, and to voice the hopes or the fears arising from a break with tradition, and the promise held out by a move towards systems which in future will give individuals greater freedom of choice and more independence in expressing it.

Social policies which can encourage the adoption of new ways of making use of time should be examined in greater depth so that the advantages and disadvantages of various experiments may be compared, e.g. variable timetable or shift work, four or five-day week, holidays divided over different times of year or a single long holiday, early or postponed retirement (in whole or in part), prolonged studies and training for the young or continuing training at recurrent periods throughout life. In weighing the advantages and disadvantages of general adoption of more flexible systems it will be necessary to take into account: the interdependence between the various forms that overall reduction of working time may

take in each one's working life; the possibility of promoting labour market equilibrium through flexibility, in its various forms; improvements in the operation and utilisation of public facilities (transport); economic problems arising from the ratio between the working population and that part of the total population (the young and aged) which is economically inactive; finally and above all, the improvement in the quality of individual lives, with increased possibilities of personal fulfilment and of harmonizing the various family and social obligations.

Whereas barely ten years ago this vision of individual patterns of the use of time throughout life seemed utopian to the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee of the OECD, today the various discussions begun in a positive frame of mind both within the Committee and during the Conference have shown that this question has now matured sufficiently for practical steps to be envisaged. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee has already decided to continue the exchanges of information between OECD Member countries on experiments, research and trends in opinion, and to make a study of appropriate social policies for producing positive developments in this field.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword ..... 5

OPENING SESSION

Speech by Mr. Gérard Eldin, Deputy Secretary General, OECD ..... 11

Opening Address by Mr. Edgar Faure, Minister of State for Social Affairs, France ..... 15

REPORT ON THE CONFERENCE ON NEW PATTERNS FOR WORKING TIME

by J. de Chalendar

Introduction ..... 25

Part One

GENERAL ARGUMENTS

Chapter I

QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA ..... 29

Chapter II

DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVITIES OVER THE COURSE OF TIME..... 35

I. Between different periods of time ..... 35
II. Within each different period of time ..... 37

Chapter III

LIMITS TO FREEDOM OF CHOICE ..... 39

Part Two

EXPERIMENTS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

Chapter IV

THE DAY ..... 43

I. Shift-work ..... 43
II. The Break-free day ..... 44
III. Staggered working hours ..... 45
IV. Flexible or freely chosen working hours ..... 46

Chapter V

THE WEEK ..... 49

I. The four-day week ..... 49
II. Choice of rest days. The flexible week ..... 50

Chapter VI

THE YEAR ..... 53

I. The facts are not simple ..... 53
II. There is no easy solution ..... 54

Chapter VII

ALL LIFE THROUGH ..... 57

I. Study and working life ..... 57
II. Work and family or household activities ..... 59
III. Work and Retirement ..... 61

Chapter VIII

WAYS AND MEANS ..... 63

Chapter IX

DIVERGENCE AND CONVERGENCE ..... 67

Conclusions ..... 71

Reference Works ..... 75

Contents of the Supplement to the Final Report ..... 79
List of Participants ..... 81

OPENING SESSION

Speech by Mr. G. Eldin
Deputy Secretary-General, OECD

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen

I am happy to welcome, on behalf of the Secretary-General of OECD, all those taking part in this International Conference on New Patterns for Working Time, organised by the OECD in close association with the Trade Union Advisory Committee and the BIAC (Business and Industry Advisory Committee).

We are particularly glad to have with us this morning President Edgar Faure, Minister of State for Social Affairs in the French Government, who, in spite of very pressing commitments, has agreed to give the opening address for this Conference. We regard his presence not only as a further sign of the interest he has always shown in the work of our Organisation - and we have already benefited from his experience in many fields - but also as emphasizing the timeliness and importance of the subject which brings us together today.

We are very appreciative, your Excellency, of the choice you have been good enough to make for our greater benefit concerning the pattern of your own working time.

I should also like to take this opportunity of thanking all those who have contributed to the preparation of this Conference, and especially Mr. S.B. Vognbjerg, of the Trade Union Advisory Committee, and Mr. Robertson, of the BIAC, who will be speaking later, as well as all the rapporteurs whom I cannot name individually but who have already supplied us in their written papers with contributions of great value which I found stimulating reading.

Before inviting your Excellency to speak, I should like very briefly to set this Conference in the context of OECD activities and also to make a few comments of my own.

The present Conference is not an intergovernmental conference. Its aim is not, like that of the Organisation's various Committees, to compare and exchange views on national policies between government delegates, to find a common position or to harmonize

attitudes, and still less to draw up formal recommendations for our Governments. The present Conference is part of a quite different context, that of the "Labour-Management" Programme inaugurated in 1962 under OECD auspices which aims at promoting the dispassionate exchange of information and views between our Organisation, and representatives of labour and management. This Programme therefore acts as a sort of bridge which brings some of the OECD work to a wider audience, and of course it works both ways.

Although this Conference represents what might be termed a "marginal" activity of the OECD - which in my opinion in no way diminishes its importance - its theme is a central concern of the Organisation. It is in fact connected with the guidelines laid down a few years ago by the OECD Council, designed to focus the Organisation's activities not only on the quantitative growth of our economies - growth of product, employment, trade and incomes, which is still undoubtedly necessary - but at the same time on the qualitative aspects of that growth and on its ends, which are social ends.

This new guideline has taken effect in many fields: science and educational policy, environment, overall approach to the long-term allocation of resources and more especially, in the context of the activities of the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee, with the programmes devoted to social indicators, the industrial environment, relations within the enterprise and, latterly, new patterns for working time.

The theme of the present Conference is therefore directly interwoven with the trend I have just sketched out. Thus, it responds to the new aspirations of workers, which are expressed not only in the language of money but also, as Mr. Bertrand de Jouvenel has so well said, in the "Language of Hours"(1).

Your discussions on this topic will deal with a crucial problem and the way in which governments solve it will be of fundamental importance for the future of our economies and our societies.

Without going to the core of the problem, I should like to conclude with three brief personal remarks which came to my mind on reading the excellent papers prepared for this Conference. I am struck by the fact that the question of new patterns for working time - whether in the form of shorter working hours or of greater

1) B. de Jouvenel, Le Langage des Heures, in Analyse et Prévision, April 1972.

flexibility - is only apparently a simple problem and that our duty here is to grasp its real dimensions:

1. First, I think it would be a mistake to try to approach the problem in purely quantitative terms as though working time were a "minus" quantity and leisuretime a "plus" quantity. It is alas only too true, that working time is too often regarded as the price which must be paid for income and social status. But I think that the value attached to time is closely dependent both on the quality of the work - which may be frustrating or rewarding - and on the quality of the leisure, which may also be enriching or impoverishing. Social policy therefore cannot be confined to the quantitative aspects. It should also adopt the aim of enhancing work and leisure for the individual.
2. A second trap to be avoided is that of "generality", i.e. a too general pattern which does not allow for the diversity of situations: national, regional, occupational and family diversity - which certainly exists. But the solutions adopted should above all make allowance for the diversity of individuals, i.e. they should, in short, respect individual liberty. I feel that giving the individual a wider choice in the organisation of his working life - and quite simply of his life - is in itself a factor of progress along the path of quality which we wish to take.
3. Lastly, a final warning, which will not surprise you in the context of this Organisation with its many functions where we endeavour to integrate in a horizontal approach the different aspects of economic and social policy: the problem of new patterns for working time cannot be tackled solely as a specific isolated problem.
   - It cannot be divorced from its economic context since there will usually be a question of choice: for the individual, the choice between more income or greater leisure; for the community, the choice between faster growth or a qualitatively better growth.
   - Nor can it be divorced from the other aspects of social policy, such as employment, working conditions or the promotion of housing and public utility services.
   - It should be linked, lastly - and this is self-evident - with questions of education and vocational training.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have raised only a small corner of the veil and I do not wish to delay your work any longer, which, I do not doubt, will help you to obtain mutual enrichment from your deliberations, experience and various points of view. It is now the task of a more authoritative voice than mine to introduce the subject of this Conference.

I have the honour and great pleasure of leaving the floor to President Edgar Faure.

Opening Address
by Mr. Edgar FAURE
Minister of State for Social Affairs (France)

Mr. Secretary-General, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It was with very great pleasure that I accepted the kind invitation extended to me by Mr. van Lennep to attend this opening meeting of your International Conference on New Patterns for Working Time. I hope you will regard my presence here first and foremost as an indication of the great interest which the French Government takes in the work of the OECD. It may also perhaps be an indication of my own special attention to the work of the OECD in general, in which I have often had occasion to take part in various capacities, Ministerial or otherwise. It is, indeed, not so very long since I sat in this same room as one of your experts in connection with a study of the education system in Japan. But today I am no longer in the position of an expert but of a Minister. I am not saying that the two are wholly incompatible, but it is highly probable that my expertise is considerably less in the field of social affairs where I am still a comparative newcomer. I am, however, fortunate on three counts; first, I know that I can rely on your indulgence, secondly, I have the support of a very great specialist in these questions, Mr. Jacques Delors, whose competence is unchallenged, and thirdly, I have had the pleasure of listening to Mr. Eldin's remarks and I find that, at any rate at first sight, our approach to these problems is very much along the same lines.

Among the activities of your Organisation I have taken particular note of the Labour-Management Programme sponsored by the appropriate Directorate in liaison with two Advisory Committees and including study missions and meetings attended by labour and management representatives from Member countries. This programme is also punctuated every two years or so by a joint international conference centred on a subject of common interest to government, labour and management. After discussing at the last two conferences manpower policy and continuing training, you have selected for the present conference the pattern of working time and the

various aspects just outlined by Mr. Eldin, of its distribution throughout the day, throughout the week, throughout the year and throughout the life span.

What a vast subject! For time is man himself; as Karl Marx said, "man is but the creature of an hour". And we are certainly dealing with one of the major issues of the day, not only from the economic, but also from the social and human point of view. The first thought which comes to mind on this subject seems to me to be the need to progress beyond the idea of immutable categories.

This idea held the field for a long time. First, there were the categories of the different age groups, and our society, for all its modernism, is still very hidebound by this preconception, by this habit of thinking of the three ages of man. First comes the age of learning before embarking on active life. For most people in the old days this age was very short; nowadays it is much longer everywhere, since in most countries it goes up to 16 or 18 and in practice a good deal later for a large proportion of the population who continue their studies after the age of compulsory schooling. And yet the myth still persists that during this first age, people study but do not work. In the second age people work and do not study at all, and finally comes the third age, which used to be regarded as less important, no doubt because the average human life span was less then than it is now. In the third age people were supposed neither to work nor to study. I believe the time has come to break right away from this traditional view. Likewise, I think it natural that without going back to child labour in industry the studies of young people should include a practical element which will give them an understanding of the realities of working life. Likewise we must think of the worker, in adult life, as constantly informing and reinforming himself. Finally we must make sure that retirement does not mean any diminution of life, of intellectual life or of active life. These are vast problems which I can naturally only touch upon today.

But we also find these categories in working life in the form of an inflexible idea of working time and idle time. There is a time to labour and a time to refrain from labour. It is our duty to look much more closely and much more specifically at all this. Work may mean all sorts of things; there are different types of work, different types of worker, different sets of conditions. Economic possibilities should nowadays meet individual aspirations, and respond to a specific concept of work. The law in several countries, including France, has progressed in varying degrees

towards the provision of facilities for part-time work. This is generally regarded as women's work and, indeed, it is very interesting for women, since one of our contemporary problems is the compatibility of motherhood and working life. But women are not alone, there are many people who might like to have part-time or staggered work, either because they are older, or because they do other things, and have other interests. Thus, the relation between working activity and working time and other human activities is one of the great problems of our civilisation. For a long time people have concentrated on the essential idea of reducing working hours; this is a very valuable thing and it should be noted in passing that we have not progressed as fast in this field as in some others. There may be different reasons for this and one reason is that the need for shorter working hours is perhaps not yet as strongly felt or as urgently demanded as might be thought. In the first place because some work is interesting, and then because of habit, and because human beings need psychological support. We often find on holidays, for example, say after three weeks or so, that workers on holiday tend to become restless. They feel that this division seems vulnerable and I do not know that so many workers are in favour of much longer holidays. This is one of the problems we should study when the question arises whether the time saved from work should be devoted either to a considerable lengthening of the holiday period, or to two holiday periods in the year - personally I have always found winter holidays much more stimulating than summer holidays - or whether on the other hand, the holidays should be left as they are and the week should be divided into four days and three days, for example, or whether the working day should be shortened, which is more convenient in some cases such as women's work to which I have already referred.

This is all linked up with other problems. In scanning your conference papers I note that you have been considering the famous problem of staggered holidays, which is a hardy perennial, and which is constantly springing up again because it is never solved; there again, people think things are easy when they are not. There are those who think it is very simple to induce people to take their holidays at different times. This is not true, because people want to go on holiday at the most agreeable time of year and at the same time as their children, their family and their best friends, and you throw them right out of gear if you split up holidays or stagger them too much. There is also an idea that it is better to slow

down the pace of work a little and avoid a complete break. I must say that for my part I would prefer to have my offices almost completely closed down for two or three or four weeks, rather than live at half speed for three months never being able to get hold of the man I want when I want him.

Naturally, what I say to you is in no way dogmatic, since all these things have to be studied and these are precisely our contemporary problems. As Mr. Eldin has just said we are in fact faced with a phenomenon which is no longer purely economic. Of course we must never forget economic development and the very title of your Organisation is a constant reminder of it. You will not find me a partisan of "zero growth"; indeed, all of us here are probably among those who wish to go ahead with economic development because of the possibilities which it opens up. Hope is stronger than the fear of nuisances, and one of the possibilities opened up by economic growth is precisely that of eliminating its own nuisances and secreting its own antitoxins. But to promote growth, and even to eliminate nuisances, is not enough; these growth possibilities must also solve the human problems of which the material aspects of the distribution of goods and services are only one aspect and not the ultimate goal.

That is why I think it is an excellent thing that your Organisation should tackle all the problems connected with the idea of growth in the service of man. I even wonder why your Organisation does not itself proclaim this extension of its aims and objects, and I venture to suggest that it might well do so. Why could not some way be found of perhaps including the word "Social" in your name? I throw out the suggestion; it may not seem very important, but as the ancients said "nomina numina" - words have their own divinity.

That is also why I welcome the programmes of your Manpower and Social Affairs Committee. Perhaps it might be possible to get to even closer grips with these problems which you have already started to study with such precision, as is evident from the conference papers. My advisers think that I might suggest to you - and it is for you to consider - the creation of a special secretariat to deal with Working Time which would be responsible for the reciprocal information of countries about new experiments, for studying the aspirations of workers, the social, biological and economic consequences of the different ways of employing time, and the legislative and administrative obstacles to the adoption of new patterns of working time. It has even been suggested to me

that incentives should be introduced - why not, indeed, an international prize - for firms which undertake valuable experiments. Above all, the international aspect is essential since all of us who want to make progress with the organisation of labour are met with the objection of competitiveness. That is the latest response of traditional minds, the systematical No-men. In the nineteenth century we were told that limiting the working hours of children in mines was a grave assault on the freedom of the fathers of families, and this reform became practicable only after the military authorities had complained of the poor physical condition of the conscripts who came before the medical boards. Today the argument in favour of rejection and non-progress does not even try to cloak itself behind a legal quibble or a social hypocrisy; it takes its stand purely on the ground of productivity at all costs and growth for growth's sake. They say to us, "Ah, but if you French or other people such as the Swiss - our nearest geographical neighbours - suddenly decide that the workers must have a more interesting life and that there must be an end to all this repetitive work, this alienating and dehumanising unit working, your neighbour countries for their part will go on working as before and they will get all the benefit of the flow production you want to modify or adapt".

This argument is, moreover, not necessarily convincing, because the day will come in any event when we shall lose even the economic advantages we expect to gain from forms of work which are contrary to the requirements of the human spirit in this present day and age. And one day, if I may be forgiven for repeating myself, we shall judge our indifference and our acceptance of these dehumanising forms of work as severely as we now judge the attitude of our predecessors last century who opposed any reduction in hours and upheld child labour.

But this argument of competitiveness and the premium on the alienation of work still has to be overcome and this can only be done internationally. I should like to lay stress on the idea which I have just put forward of experiments; a great deal of experiment will be needed, and naturally, after the experiments have been made, the problem is to go on and apply the formulas proven by experience. We do not need pilot experiments here, there and everywhere which are regarded as curiosities to be preserved under glass, but the experimental period is essential. In the words of my fellow-countryman, Mr. Fourastié, "we live in a civilisation of tests". That is the answer I sometimes make to those

who propose, in one field or another, very simple remedies but remedies which they want to apply immediately and indiscriminately to everybody. I do not think it is possible, but we must push ahead with research, research in common, experimentation, then co-operation in proceeding from pilot experiment to general inducement or even compulsory standards.

The great problem nevertheless remains that of avoiding the dichotomy of human time. The opposition of work and leisure is over-simplified. Are we to think that some men centre their life interest on their work and practise a sort of ergocentrism, while others centre their interest on leisure considered in terms of pleasure and practise what might be called a sort of hedonocentrism in contrast to ergocentrism. I am not sure of this: there are people who find more satisfaction in work than in leisure when they have too much leisure. What is called a leisure civilisation cannot exist without training for leisure. Men must be trained to work and highly trained to do more interesting work; they need to be very highly trained indeed if they are to find a great interest in not working. And yet we understand that man is made for activity and that what is called leisure may be a form of activity. Where a man or woman does social work, or takes an interest in education in the locality, or goes in for sport or studies the archaeology of the region, can we say that this is not work but leisure? It is often very hard work indeed, except that it is unpaid. Can we say that amateur sportsmen do not work whereas professionals doing exactly the same thing are working? The light is thus very shifting. For my part I think that individuals in the era of mankind which is now dawning fall into various categories; those who concentrate on one main activity, which is both their work and their leisure. Men like this have always existed and will go on existing. When they get home they continue to brood over the problems of their profession, they go to meetings and, of course, to banquets, to meet their colleagues and if they have any time left they travel abroad to see how people in other countries practise medicine or law or astronomy or whatever may be their chosen calling. There will be other people who establish a sort of dichotomy between two sorts of activity, one which ensures their livelihood and another which interests them as much or even more, and thus there will even be workers who will be happy to do dull and perhaps not very agreeable work, but which they can do fairly quickly because people cannot be kept too long on work which is both hard and uninteresting. I could already

cite examples of this. There are people who prefer to wash cars in a garage for a few hours and spend the rest of the day writing books or studying: this will happen too.

So we shall have to deal with all these different patterns, but naturally I have perhaps been looking a little too far ahead and we must not overlook the essential problems of working time, already referred to, arising out of the harder work and the work of people in awkward circumstances such as women with families.

I have chosen to limit myself to these introductory remarks, which I hope will show you that I am no doubt better equipped to share your problems than I am to assist in arriving at a conclusion. But I attach great importance to this problem and to the fact that it is you who are taking it in hand, and I express the very sincere hope that these studies will lead to practical conclusions and that we governments will not dismiss the suggestions made to us based on the knowledge of the problems and on your keen interest in social betterment and human progress in our difficult but exhilarating age.

# REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON NEW PATTERNS FOR WORKING TIME

by

J. de Chalendar

# INTRODUCTION

The International Conference held in Paris from 26th to 29th September 1972 was organised by the OECD Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate in order to enable representatives of the employers' associations and trade unions, and senior civil servants and academics from Member countries to exchange views on the more flexible arrangement of working time during the day, the week, the year and throughout life, i.e. on improving the distribution of such time between the job itself and the various other human activities (study, rest, leisure time, etc).

The importance of this subject was unanimously recognised. President Edgar Faure even went so far as to say that it is "one of the major issues of the day" in his opening address to the Conference.

Awareness of this importance is of recent origin. Preoccupation had so far mainly been - in the hope of reducing it - with the quantity of time (duration) devoted to work, calculated in hours per day, days per week, weeks per year and, more rarely, years of life, but little attention had been paid to the arrangement of such working time and its location on the scale of duration between one moment and another of human life.

It would have seemed inconceivable 20 years ago to assemble 150 people from 23 different countries to discuss this latter topic. That such a meeting has been possible today and has been full of lessons for the various participants bears witness, in its way, to the growing importance attached nowadays to the general problem of the management of time.

---

N.B. It has not been possible to mention in the body of the text the names of those participants who spoke during the discussions, the only names given are those of rapporteurs when a reference is made to their contribution.

## PART ONE

## GENERAL ARGUMENTS

The subject of the Conference was: new patterns for working time, i.e. the distribution of work over the course of time and hence the distribution of other human activities. But this distribution falls into a quantitative and qualitative economic and sociological context, which was studied in several of the reports submitted to the Conference and discussed by many participants. (See reports by Mr. Maric, Mr. Rustant and Mr. Glickman.)

## Chapter I

## QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA

The report by Mr. Maric shows that for at least ten years or so the "actual" length of time worked in the course of their employment by wage and salary earners has been falling in most Member countries(1).

The movement in this direction should continue thanks to the possibilities offered by the economic development expected over the next ten years(2). The OECD itself has forecast the following as probable for this period:

- an average increase in gross industrial product still more rapid than between 1960 and 1970(3);
- continued productivity growth(4) at its present pace;
- continued high level of investment(5).

---

1) The report distinguishes between:
- the maximum duration fixed by legislation, regulations or agreements, generally in the context of the week or the day;
- a "standard" period not including overtime which, according to the available statistics, falls within a bracket varying according to the Member country (1800 to 1900 hours per year for the lowest and 2300 to 2400 hours per year for the highest), with appreciable differences according to region, occupation and type of activity (generally higher in the secondary sector for "blue-collar workers" than in the tertiary sector for "white-collar workers");
- "actual" time worked including overtime, for which only incomplete and not easily comparable statistics are available.

2) See report by Mr. Rustant.

3) For the major countries, 68 per cent increase as against 60 per cent between 1960 and 1970. For the other OECD European countries, 51 per cent.

4) For the major countries 52 per cent growth, for the others 41 per cent.

5) In addition, the working population should increase (between 1965 and 1980):
- a great deal in certain countries (30 per cent increase in the United States, 18.5 per cent in Japan and 16 per cent in the Netherlands);
- more moderately in others (11 per cent in Italy, 8.8 per cent in France and 6.6 per cent in Belgium);
- lastly, very little in some countries (3.2 per cent in the United Kingdom and only 0.6 per cent in Federal Germany).

The populations involved should therefore be able to enjoy a "surplus" permitting the choice between a higher income and more free time. But this choice will be affected by the "meaning" which the individual and society itself already attach and will tomorrow attach to the concepts of work and leisure. Sociological and psychological considerations thus combine with the purely economic factors. Many comments were made on this point during the Conference. We think it useful to recall the main ones below:

1. Non-working time must not be confused with free time.

On several occasions, the participants stressed the amount of time required for travel, for the increasing number of administrative formalities and, last and especially in the case of women, for household and family activities. A Canadian participant pointed out that the total time devoted to such activities by mothers was appreciably higher than the total working time in industry (11 hours for a non-employed woman) and that at least 4 hours had to be added for women in paid employment to the hours spent in factory or office. Mr Van Hoof emphasized the increasing time required for looking after children and dependants (old people, sick and handicapped persons), and the need to provide assistance for workers (usually women) who have both occupational and family responsibilities.

It was also asked whether working time should or should not be made to include the time devoted to training or the pursuit of a hobby or even a second job.

2. Within free time itself, it was recommended that a distinction be made between that devoted to actual rest (physical and mental) the necessity for which was stressed by several delegates, and the time employed on absorbing and sometimes tiring leisuretime activities (some kinds of weekend travel, for example).

Some of these leisuretime activities demand time but little money (television viewing, gardening, odd jobs, etc.). Others, on the other hand, demand both time and money, especially when accompanied by travel and necessitating special equipment or services.

They then take up an increasing proportion of people's income; after the "health" item, it is leisure which rises most quickly in the household budget(1).

Several delegates deplored the excessive influence of publicity and fashion, which impelled people to indulge in more and more

1) See the report by Mr Rustant.

expensive forms of consumption and leisure, some of which might be psychologically or physiologically harmful(1).

3. In the past (and even today), "preparing people for, and maintaining people in, work has presented a guiding principle for most of our social institutions. ... The value attached to "hard work, the need for men to work and the justification of profit all helped to form the basis for modern capitalism". "You shall earn your daily bread by the sweat of your brow." This precept was fairly well attuned to the technical conditions of industrial development and with the interests of the dominant social class. These conditions have partly changed today, but a change has still to be brought about in outlooks which often lag behind technical or economic possibilities.

4. For most people, however, work will continue to be accepted as a necessity in the future. It is difficult to know exactly in what proportion people have chosen, or will choose, between increased income and increased leisure, when earnings per unit of time make such choice possible.

Some, who are no doubt the majority, will first try to earn more, being even prepared to work very hard, if only so as to afford relatively expensive recreative activities for short periods. For these, any reduction in working time, as a result of rises in real wages per unit of time, will occur relatively slowly.

Others, who form a probably increasing minority(2), will prefer to do what they like with a larger proportion of their time, even at the cost of a smaller or more slowly rising income, and to choose less expensive forms of leisure, occurring more frequently or for longer periods.

The choice will depend on many variables such as income, age, sex, family situation or social habits. The fathers of large families, for example, will frequently be obliged to give priority to income, while childless couples may prefer longer leisure.

---

1) The statisticians are by no means sheltered from this influence of fashion in the assessments they make. For example, when they observe that some of the population do not go away on holiday and that the rate of departures only rises slowly, they draw the conclusion that incomes are unequally distributed, as though it were impossible to take an agreeable rest without leaving one's home for several days, which is probably true in very large, noisy and polluted cities but is not necessarily so for people who live and work at the foot of a ski run or by the sea.

2) The reader is referred to the different results of two surveys carried out in France at a few years' interval at the Renault Works. A recent survey among Belgian workers shows that longer leisure comes second among their major claims (statement by a Belgian participant).

5. <u>But this does not necessarily rule out the continuation and even development of other types of behaviour</u>. A small fraction of the population, which is greater than might have been expected 20 years ago, will reject the jobs offered them by society as uninteresting and leading to alienation, and will prefer to live without working much (with the probable guarantee of a sufficient income in any event), or will only engage in work which is on the fringe of modern so-called normal economic activity. These "marginal" members of society were formerly to be found among the lowest of the under-privileged (tramps), but they now include many dissatisfied or sceptical young people from the middle and upper classes(1).

6. Other people, who do not reject work per se, will be increasingly reluctant to do certain jobs which they regard as too hard or too monotonous, or else to work at times which do not suit them: during the evening, at night, on Sundays or even Saturdays and during July or August in some countries(2).

In order that these jobs may be performed at such times, society will either be obliged to pay more (bonuses) or, for the same wages, to reduce the hours of attendance demanded of each worker (the dockers in the United Kingdom, the employees of French department stores which stay open late in the evening). The resulting cost will no doubt lead to stepping up the efforts already made either to abolish some of these jobs, for instance by using new machines, or to make them more attractive by improving the work setting and working conditions, in particular through what it has been decided to call "job enrichment".

"If the workers are allowed more responsibility and greater participation," observed a participant from the Netherlands, "they will be more prepared to accept the time they spend at work."

The idea was suggested, lastly, that everyone be required to do "humble" jobs, such as working on an assembly line, either at certain times or at the start of his working life, with the compensatory right to more advanced training subsequently (Mr Rehn).

7. By implication, it may be deduced from these remarks that most men - including long-haired youths - hope for a more interesting job. If these hopes can be more broadly satisfied than in the past, the distinction between working and non-working time would

---

1) Report by Mr Glickman and Mr Van Hoof.

2) Comments by a Belgian participant.

lose some of its importance and even significance, as has been already observed in certain professions (university teachers, research workers, writers, etc.)

*
* *

In short, the Conference laid emphasis on the need to consider human life as a whole, where work and leisure do not belong to separate worlds but everyone draws on both in order to fulfil his being, and leisure in particular is no longer a means of "forgetting one's working life but of living better".

Chapter II

## DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVITIES OVER THE COURSE OF TIME

This distribution may be envisaged either as between the different periods of time (the day, the week, the year or throughout life) or within each such period.

### I. BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT PERIODS OF TIME

The following main questions were raised:

1. Taking the overall additional free time as known, will the period of training be lengthened, retirement age lowered, annual holidays increased, weekly working hours reduced or daily leisure time extended?
The answers will determine the length of time devoted to work, to leisure, etc., within each of the periods of time considered.
Will these answers be necessarily the same for everyone?
Will a personal free choice be possible between the various alternatives offered and within what limits and on what conditions?
Once the choice has been made, will it be final for each person or can it be altered at any time in life in the light of developments in aspirations and needs?
In short, faced with the different possible alternatives, can the three objectives of differentiation, variety of choice and freedom of choice be achieved - and at what cost?
2. The answers were generally optimistic. Naturally, the different alternatives are not mutually exclusive and "a great many possibilities of distribution existed which should be systematically explored". Most participants supported Mr G. Rehn in this view. This was confirmed - a contrario - when they challenged the pattern suggested

by Mr Van Hoof at the end of his report, for the sole reason that they found it too specific.

Mr Van Hoof had proposed a "general pattern" which involved: Shortening the working week to 40 hours, made up of five 8-hour days; lengthening holidays to 6 weeks; lowering retirement age to 60 for men and 55 for women; raising the compulsory school-leaving age to 18.

The provisional information given by participants from the various countries revealed quite appreciable differences, however:

- In the United States or Australia, a preference for shorter working day or week, reduced, for example, to 35 hours, rather than for longer annual holidays or a lower retirement age;
- In Canada, an apparent preference, on the contrary, for longer annual holidays and keeping a 40-hour week;
- In France, the claim for longer annual holidays a few years back has now veered towards the allocation of sufficient time for training during working life and a lower retirement age;
- In the Netherlands, where 61 per cent of the population feel that they have sufficient daily, weekly or annual leisure time, the greatest claim is for a longer period of initial training and, as in France, a lower retirement age;
- In Germany, lastly, on the assumption of a total reduction of 20 to 25 per cent in working hours (corresponding therefore to 10 hours per week), some participants thought that half of the time thus liberated should be allotted to lowering retirement age and the other half partly to shortening the working week (by three or four hours, for example) and partly to lengthening annual holidays to five weeks.

The general disparities thus observed between countries because of their different traditions and different level of development will also be found between the inhabitants of the same country according to sex, age, family situation, educational level and income.

It appeared that these latter differences would on the whole tend to widen in the future and might be regarded as desirable, as facilitating free choice.

## II. WITHIN EACH DIFFERENT PERIOD OF TIME

A second group of questions now arises.

It is not sufficient, for example, to know that we shall choose longer annual holidays, it is also necessary to know the actual date of these holidays: in summer, winter, in which month precisely, and all at once or in several parts?

Shall we be free to choose this date ourselves? Or will it be imposed by the firm in which we work?

Lastly, will it be the same for all of a firm's employees, and even for all firms and all inhabitants in the same city, the same region or the same country?

The same questions may be put as regards the week. For instance, if we work 40 hours, will these hours be spread out over 6, 5 or 4 days? Will the choice of rest days be fixed by the regulations or by the employer's decision, or will the individual be free to decide? Could he perhaps change his hours from one week to the next, and will he be obliged or not to obtain his employer's permission in order to do so? Lastly, whether the solution is imposed or chosen, will it in fact be the same for all workers in the same firm and all inhabitants of the same city?

As regards the day also, if the norm is 8 hours, will the hours of arrival and departure be the same for everyone? If so, why, and what are the consequences both for the firm, for the private life of its employees and for the community (traffic jams at peak hours)? If not, will the distribution of hours between several shifts, or the practice of staggered working hours be imposed in their turn on the workers, or can the latter choose different working hours within certain limits which may perhaps vary from day to day?

It will be seen that this second group of problems, which should not be confused with the first, involves a great many factors which go beyond the actual field of work organisation and affect the conditions under which transport and leisure equipment is used.

## Chapter III

## LIMITS TO FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Since situations and aspirations are so diverse, each individual should be allowed an equally diverse range of possibilities of choice. Does this mean that complete freedom of choice is both possible and desirable? Certainly not.

Obviously, even in the absence of any "social" constraint, we are subject to a number of natural and biological rhythms (day and night, summer and winter) which might be different according to temperament but by which everyone is affected.

The constraints imposed by life in society are numerous and sometimes contradictory. Several references were made to those based on technical imperatives (plant that has to be operated continuously, shift work, work on assembly lines, etc.) or economic imperatives (when the investment is particularly heavy) so that a certain proportion of the workers are obliged to work hours which do not always suit them: inconvenient hours at night and on Sundays, or simply the obligation to keep strictly the same hours every day.

Less was said about tradition and social habits whose psychological foundations are such that it is always a long and difficult matter to change them, the interest of such change being, moreover, not always clear to those concerned:

- habits acquired at school, in the army and in the firm, such as all starting and finishing work at the same time, even when this simultaneity is not indispensable;
- need to follow a rule which is the same for all;
- fear of freedom of choice and the resulting responsibility;
- desire to be with the family or friends, all sharing the same free time or days off, which perhaps explains the inviolable nature of Sunday and hence the rhythm of the week in our civilisation;

- link between the crowds and the holiday feeling, which accounts for the equally "inviolable" nature of holidays in August in several countries (France);
- lastly, the crowd instinct itself, which induces us to do the same things at the same time as other people.

But these constraints, habits and aspirations are in their turn limited by the impossibility of using the same transport equipment and the same leisure equipment all at the same time. The Conference thus had to discuss the problems of overcrowding and traffic jams and to study the different methods of spreading out travel and leisuretime activities in modern industrial society over broader areas of time than hitherto.

Finally, reference was made to the need for all the workers providing the appropriate services to work precisely when the others - assumed to be the majority - were resting and amusing themselves.

*

* *

Some of these constraints are inevitable and will always restrict our freedom of choice to a greater or lesser degree.

Others, however, are connected with systems of organisation or habits of thought or behaviour, and may be reduced by more flexible time patterns adapted to individual cases; it is accordingly the responsibility of the public administration and the trade unions and employers' associations to take active steps in order to find suitable means of doing this.

Any increase in freedom assumes and, when it is obtained, gives rise to, fundamental structural changes(1).

The conclusion is self-evident. Additional pointlessly constraining rules should not be added to the inevitable constraints, especially when such rules are not applied in practice. The need for variety and the desire for freedom should then be met by offering everyone the maximum opportunities compatible with the major imperatives of life in society. Finally, whenever society considers it necessary to influence choice, it is better to adopt measures of inducement rather than mandatory regulations.

---

1) See in particular the reports by Mr Van Hoof, Mr Evans and Mr Rehn.

# PART TWO

## EXPERIMENTS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

Chapter IV

## THE DAY

Total working time per day (how many hours?) and the moment when this work is carried out (at what time?) are two separate matters, though they are fairly closely linked.

It is often because they cannot lengthen the working hours required of each employee that firms wishing to use their machinery to full capacity decide to organise successive shifts (shift work).

It was the desire to reduce the "unproductive time" lost by workers every day in travel which was behind the changes recently made in the pattern of working time: the break-free day, general staggering of hours of arrival and departure, flexible and freely chosen working hours.

### I. SHIFT WORK(*)

Opinions among participants did not coincide as regards the probable wider adoption of this system.

Some considered it very likely owing to the need not only for continuous working in certain production processes (chemicals) or certain services (hospitals, transport, etc.) but also for ensuring full-time use of equipment the cost of which is constantly increasing and which becomes rapidly obsolescent in the secondary sector and even in the tertiary sector (computers).

But shift work, the three-shift system in particular, is not without its disadvantages for workers' health (sleep difficult in the daytime, insufficient nutrition at night). Protective measures are still necessary for night work (danger of abuses, especially where immigrant workers are involved). Even two shifts interfere

*) See also Mr L. Bratt's report.

with family life and may make workers' participation in community, cultural, sports or trade union activities more difficult.

No doubt, certain arrangements (such as those described in Mr Bratt's report) make shift work less of a strain where it is still inevitable. Workers' attitudes to shifts are not everywhere the same. Some prefer them to regular daily work, particularly where they allow of fairly long periods of freedom. A participant from Finland spoke in favour of a change to a system of two six-hour shifts, when the normal day's work is eight hours. Improved utilisation of capital equipment could make it possible to pay workers a sufficiently high hourly rate to make this more productive system attractive to them. An added advantage was that, with a working day of six hours for men and women alike, it was easier for women with family responsibilities to take employment.

Shift work seems to be better borne in the countries of Northern Europe, owing perhaps to the length of the nights in winter and the days in summer. It appears to be quite well accepted, especially by those who are obliged to work far away from their families, in Lapland, for example, or on offshore oil-drilling platforms.

However, on the whole, the majority of workers are still hostile to shift work, the younger ones more than their elders, and this hostility seems to increase with the level of education.

It is therefore difficult to recruit workers for shift work and the firm must offer them financial compensation which may take up the profit expected from a more rational utilisation of investment.

Several participants therefore considered that progress in the organisation of firms and the development of automation might in future reduce the number of staff obliged to work at night or on Sunday especially(1).

## II. THE BREAK-FREE DAY(*)

This expression is used in some countries, and especially France, whenever the midday break is too short for workers to return home for lunch.

---

1) In Switzerland, for example, shift work is still the exception.

*) Cf. report by Mr J. Hallaire.

The practice of the "break-free day" is becoming general, at least in large cities and whenever the distance between home and place of work is great. But a varying proportion of workers in any given firm, particularly in the Latin countries, still prefer to return home for their midday meal, while others who may even lunch in the firm or nearby, want a long enough break before or after eating for relaxation or shopping.

Flexible working hours, with a movable period in the middle of the day, seem to be the only means of reconciling the contradictory needs and desires of all parties.

## III. STAGGERED HOURS(*)

These may be imposed by the firm's operating conditions, as in the automobile industry. But they have also been recommended as a means of smoothing out traffic peaks in the large cities and of thus improving transport conditions for all (shorter travelling time in greater comfort).

Experiments have been made, especially in France (Paris and Strasbourg), the United States (Washington) and Japan (Osaka and Tokyo) which have to some extent flattened out the traffic peaks. They could be extended to other cities when firms' operating conditions do not permit the introduction of flexible or freely chosen working hours.

It has been observed, however, that these general worktime staggerings are not so readily accepted when, at least in some firms, they oblige workers to go home later in the evening or when they exceed half an hour and thus create difficulties for those married couples where the husband works in one firm and the wife in another.

Lastly, this system does not solve the problem of internal overcrowding in some large firms, which was responsible for the first experiments in freely chosen working hours in Germany (car park congestion in a firm in Munich) and France (lift capacity in the Paris skyscrapers insufficient to enable all workers to reach their respective offices at the same time).

---

*) Cf. report by Mr J. Hallaire.

## IV. FLEXIBLE OR FREELY CHOSEN WORKING HOURS(*)

The principle of such working hours is already well known: one or two fixed periods during which all workers must be present, two or three flexible periods at the start, at the end and possibly in the middle of the day during which staff are free to be present or not provided they are actually there for all the time laid down by the regulations or the works agreements. This "normal" time is sometimes calculated by the day, usually in the context of the week or month; carryover is even allowed within certain upper and lower limits from one month to the next.

Application of this new system seems to have been confined at first to the white-collar workers in administrative services such as head offices or insurance companies. It was realised quite soon that it could be extended also to the following categories on certain conditions:

- employees in departments in contact with the public, such as bank branches (in Switzerland, Germany and even, latterly, France);
- blue-collar workers in industrial firms, apart from workshops organised for shift work and also, so far, those which have production lines for heavy items. On the other hand, experience has shown, especially in Switzerland, that flexible working hours could be introduced when assembly lines concern only light items (watch- and clock-making, electronics, etc.) on condition that buffer stocks are built up between the various work stations and that each worker's unit tasks are increased in number.

Flexible working hours therefore assume the enhancement or enrichment of jobs. Once they have been introduced, they contribute further towards this enhancement by increasing the versatility of the workers, who must be able to replace each other; they are the occasion for co-operation between the members of the same work team and can facilitate promotion.

Flexible or freely chosen working hours have gradually developed in Europe: as from 1969 in Germany and Switzerland and since

---

1) Cf. report by Mr H. Allenspach.

the end of 1971 in France; experiments have also been made in Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and, quite recently, the United Kingdom.

According to the information given by the various participants, the practice applies today in 20 per cent of all Swiss firms, in over a thousand German Firms, in at least a hundred French firms and in some forty Dutch firms.

Thus far, however, the experiment has been confined specifically to Europe; the only firm applying such working hours in the United States seems to be the New York branch of a German firm. Delegates wondered why. Is it because the labour market is less tight? Is it merely for lack of information? If such is the case, it is to be hoped that the Conference has made up for this gap and that when they become more familiar in America, Japan, etc., flexible or freely chosen working hours will be able to develop there in the future.

The results of this experiment have in fact been largely positive and the Swiss trade union delegate confirmed the information given on this point in Mr Allenspach's report.

Of course, some trade union participants (Germany) had one or two reservations with regard to the return to time-recording and abolition of the usual tolerances as regards absence.

Others rightly pointed out that "making hours more flexible did not mean reducing them". While yet others (France) recommended a certain caution in applying this system, guarantees for the free exercise of trade union rights (information, meetings, etc.) during the fixed periods, as well as the preservation of vested rights as regards absence and, lastly, legislative protection with regard to overtime in order to guard against the ever-present danger of pressure from employers.

For all of these reasons and others too, the introduction of freely chosen working hours should be carefully prepared and, to begin with, adequate information should be provided for, and effective consultations held with, the senior staff and the personnel as a whole. It is also wise to start with a test period involving no more than two or three departments of the firm.

If these precautions are taken, the experiment will prove incontrovertible in most cases, as the advantages clearly outweigh the disadvantages for the various categories of staff concerned.

Freely chosen working hours indeed offer workers a feeling of relaxation and freedom, better adjustment of their working hours to the rhythm of their personal or family lives, a free choice

between the break-free day and returning home for lunch(1), and faster and more comfortable transport(2). Experience shows that when late arrival is no longer regarded as misconduct, felt as such and possibly punished, "clocking-in" is accepted as a purely "neutral" instrument for measuring the time actually worked.

For firms, fixed working hours had often become a fiction, and freely chosen working hours have paradoxically enough put some order into a situation which was occasionally chaotic; they have attracted new groups of workers to the employment market; they have been accompanied by a reduction in absenteeism and in the number of accidents; at the very least, productivity has been maintained and the social climate improved.

More profoundly, "personalised" flexible working hours represent a minor revolution. They mark the progress from the employer's unilateral right of decision as regards working hours to a partial right of decision left to each individual's personal choice(3).

However, there is no need to impose freely chosen working hours by legislation. It is merely necessary to remove any legal measures which are an obstacle to them and to allow the system to develop through agreements at individual firm or branch of industry level.

---

1) See the earlier section on the break-free day.

2) In Zurich (Switzerland), it takes employees three-quarters of an hour to reach the office by 8.15 if they leave home at 7.30, but a quarter of an hour if they leave at 8 o'clock.

3) See the report by Mr Allenspach concerning all of these points, as well as many articles, reports or publications. The reader is also referred to the French-language bibliography annexed to the report on flexible or freely chosen working hours published by "la Documentation Française" in June 1972 (report by the Study Group which met at the Prime Minister's request).

Chapter V

## THE WEEK

The report by Mr D. Marić, which gave examples of time worked in various countries, emphasized the importance attached to the week as a point of reference for determining the length of time worked. The Conference was not called upon to discuss the number of hours worked per week, but the pattern of working time. In this connection it considered the problems of the four-day working week, and also the choice of rest days.

### I. THE FOUR-DAY WEEK(*)

The six working days have gradually been replaced in most countries and branches of industry by the five-and-a-half and then the five-day week. Is it possible and desirable to reduce this period further by bringing it down to four days and even three-and-a-half days?

Experiments in this direction in the United States, Canada and also Australia are making a great deal of news.

It seems that in point of fact, such experiments are still somewhat limited. In the absence of official statistics, it has been estimated that in all they only affect 0.25 per cent of the working population in the United States, where they are applied by between 1,000 and 2,000 firms, but to a small fraction of the staff of these firms (12 per cent on average).

This system first made its appearance in medium-sized industrial firms located outside the large cities. It is now being extended to the services and commerce sector (insurance, hospitals, municipal services).

*) Report by Mr A. Glickman; cf. also The Four-Day Week, American Management Association, 135 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y. 10020, Research Report, 1972.

In most cases, the working week is still fixed at 40 hours, practically never more and sometimes less; the result is that daily working hours are generally in the region of 10.

The initiative for this experiment was taken by managements or senior staff in the hope of reducing absenteeism and overheads and thus obtaining an improvement in productivity and profits. The employees saw the advantage of a reduction in the time lost in daily travel and, above all, in having a three-day weekend when they could travel further away and engage in other activities, whether paid or not. A participant from the United States said that less than 5 per cent of the workers who had gone over to the four-day week had gone back again to the old working hours.

It was observed, however, that the workers in most of the firms affected are not trade union members. And the trade unions for their part are generally hostile to such experiments owing to the fatigue caused by a ten-hour working day (plus the time for travel) and to the possible risk for workers' health and safety. Some also fear the loss that might be suffered as regards possibilities of working overtime at a higher rate.

For these reasons, the AFL-CIO in the United States would only accept the four-day week if weekly working hours were reduced to 32, with a maximum of 8 hours' presence per day(1)

Finally, many participants expressed strong reserves towards the four-day week, at least under present conditions(2).

## II. CHOICE OF REST DAYS - THE FLEXIBLE WEEK

This may be simply a consequence of the system of freely chosen daily working hours. Workers are obliged to respect the fixed periods but are allowed to carry over hours credited during the movable periods, either in the weekly context, so that they can, for example, leave earlier on Friday evening or return later on Monday morning, or in the context of the month or even longer; on the basis of an average of 40 hours, they can then if they wish work 44 hours one week and 36 hours the next and even ask for additional days' leave from time to time.

1) The Union of Automobile Workers at Chrysler would have agreed to take part in a joint study on the four-day week with the company's management, but the latter have dropped the project, at least for the present.

2) In the eyes of some people, the four-day week is based on the idea that work is a necessary evil in order to have free time which is regarded as the only thing worth having.

Whether it is imposed by the needs of continuous working (shift work) or public demand (transport and tourist service staff, for example), Sunday work is generally reluctantly accepted by the workers. Sunday rest is always deemed inviolable. Saturday work is moving that way too in several countries. Such inviolability is not without its disadvantages for the community at large: traffic jams, irrational use of leisure facilities and transport equipment, and above all the risk of making it increasingly difficult on Saturdays to find the "services" which workers need precisely in order to enjoy their leisure time. Would it not be possible then to have weekends that revolve around the Sunday, which would be regarded as the fixed centre?

To what extent can these movable weekends be reconciled with individual freedom of choice?

Sometimes the firm will be open on both Saturday and Monday (department stores in France, for instance); rotation in this case will be organised more or less liberally; the worker will be able to choose between Saturday and Monday, but once the choice has been made it will have to be adhered to. This system has more than mere disadvantages to offer the workers, some of whom are quite pleased to have Monday as a second rest day: less congestion on the roads and the possibility of dealing with administrative matters or shopping.

Real flexibility is obtained when the firm stays open for six days, since the staff can choose freely between Saturday and Monday for their second rest day and change their choice from one week to the next. Experiments have recently begun along these lines in Germany and France (Summer 1972).

Freedom is still greater if the worker can take three days off one week and only one (Sunday) the next, provided the total number of hours of presence required by the firm are the same at the end of the month or year. The advantage to the worker is obvious since he can have three consecutive days' rest from time to time or, in other words, more frequent "long weekends"(1).

It might even be conceivably possible to arrange that the three consecutive free days should not necessarily be Saturday, Sunday and Monday, but Friday, Saturday and Sunday. The firm would then work with a full staff from Tuesday morning to Thursday evening and with short staff on the three other working days. This

1) Without going so far as the flexible week, the Italian trade unions have asked for the 17 public holidays in their country to be combined.

would be tantamount to extending to the week the system of freely chosen daily working hours: a fixed period when everyone must be present and movable periods when absence is permitted(1).

It remains to be seen whether the same flexibility can be extended to the school. The question has been put; it has yet to be answered.

1) On their side, American trade unionists have also recommended that workers be allowed to say on which days of the week they prefer to work.

Chapter VI

## THE YEAR

A tendency has been noted towards longer annual holidays of up to four weeks and more. It is sometimes recommended that this period should increase with the age of those concerned whatever their length of service in the firm, because of the need for longer rest after 40 or 50 years of age. Arrangements have been provided for this purpose in various countries (Australia, Austria).

It was also observed that it might sometimes be desirable to allow workers, as they wished, either to break their holiday up into several periods, which would be valuable from the health standpoint, for example three consecutive weeks in summer and two weeks in winter; or else to carry over part of their holiday rights which, when combined over several years, would permit longer holidays in the same way as, with freely chosen working hours, workers can carry over their credit of free hours from one week or month to the next.

But the discussion mainly concerned the staggering of holidays and the possibility of improving the arrangement of the year(1), because of the disadvantages of the use of transport and leisure facilities by many people at once (increased cost and price of the corresponding services).

### I. THE FACTS ARE NOT SIMPLE

There are cases where it is possible to spend enjoyable holidays throughout the year, in one region or another of the same country (the United States, Japan). But, conversely, in other

1) See "L'étalement des vacances" (Staggered holidays), a booklet published by "la Documentation française", Paris 1972. See also J. de Chalendar: "Vers un nouvel aménagement de l'année" (Towards a new pattern of the year), Paris, 1971, "la Documentation française".

countries, climatic restrictions limit the possibility of taking summer holidays in the home country to two months or even six weeks. Lastly, in yet other cases, the best period may be as long as five months, not to speak of winter holidays (winter sports or simply holidays in the sun) which are becoming increasingly popular among the as yet small but rapidly growing number of people who are able to go away twice a year.

These objections are aggravated by others connected with the operation of firms. The latter often prefer to close during the holiday period owing to the difficulty they see in setting up a system of rotation. The obstacles are sometimes of a mechanical nature, especially with flow production; but it may also happen that these obstacles are exaggerated in order to conceal the psychological resistance connected with the fact that everyone, from the manager down to the foreman, thinks he is irreplaceable and refuses to delegate his responsibilities to someone else when he goes on holiday.

A reference was also made to the more or less consciously expressed desire of workers to all take their holidays at the same time so that they may find the crowd atmosphere which to them is inseparable from "holiday-making".

The last and by no means least of the obstacles is due to the inflexibility of the school calendar, which is generally the same for all schools, either in the same country (France), or at least in the same region (Germany), or in any event the same city. Even though less than 50 per cent of all workers have children at school, the influence of school holiday dates on adult holidays is decisive. In Switzerland, since the schools close for a fortnight in the middle of winter, the workers ask for their holidays to be divided up so that they can be away with their children during the winter sports holiday.

## II. THERE IS NO EASY SOLUTION

With a view to reducing the concentration of holidays in the same period, consideration is often given to staggering the closing of firms or schools, but such staggering raises other problems in its turn, such as in the relations between customers and their suppliers, without necessarily affording everyone any real freedom of choice.

Experiments with the "planned staggering" of holiday dates as between firms have failed so far in Sweden, Denmark and France.

As far as the schools are concerned, however, the staggering introduced in Germany between the various Länder in a different order of rotation each year seems to have been a success. Firms which were obliged to close often aligned their closing dates with those of the schools in their region, which helped in the country as a whole to reduce the concentration in the holiday resorts during the same part of the summer.

In France, general staggering between regions has failed for the school summer holiday but succeeded for the short winter holiday.

But true freedom of choice, whether at the level of the year, the week or the day, assumes giving up the very system of closing at a fixed time for all those who work in the same establishment, both in industry and school, and replacing it by the "rotation" method.

Firms practising rotation are much more numerous in some countries (United States, Germany) than in others (France).

This rotation may be imposed by the specific nature of the firm's production line (plant working continuously) or by the requirements of customers and users (banks, public departments, transport services).

Experience has shown that firms adjust themselves (by employing students in summer) when the period of rotation is not restricted to two months. Rotation is generally well received by the staff too, on condition of course that they are not obliged to take their holiday at what they regard as bad periods.

However, workers may be persuaded to spread their holidays out more suitably in the general interest. In particular, bonuses might be paid to workers who take their holidays outside peak periods, thus avoiding under-utilisation both of industrial equipment for several weeks and of tourist facilities for several months. In Belgium, some firms modify the holiday bonus according to the date at which holidays are taken. In Austria, firms grant bonuses to those workers who take part of their holidays in winter. These bonuses may take the form of transport facilities to the "sunshine countries" or "the snow".

It is at individual firm level that the problem can be most easily settled. Rather than impose authoritarian solutions, it is preferable to take the line of persuasion, once having removed the impediments to individual freedom of choice, of course, such

as the law which obliges all workers in Denmark willy-nilly to take 18 consecutive days' holiday between 2nd May and 30th September. The question of better distribution of holiday periods in general is deserving of further study.

Freedom of choice and rotation are more difficult to introduce into the school.

In the United Kingdom, parents have the right to take their children away from school for two additional weeks to accompany them on holiday if they themselves go away outside the normal school holiday period. Other countries (Denmark, for example) are also thinking of re-structuring the school year. In France, current studies on this problem are concerned with the desirability of moving the beginning of the school year forward to January, (from its present date in September), with the first half-year organised in the traditional way, followed by a more flexible organisation of teaching from the beginning of June to the beginning of October, so that both children and teachers can choose the dates of their holidays within certain limits, while the school itself may stay open more or less permanently; the last term would be devoted, for some pupils, to a recapitulation of subjects which had not been sufficiently assimilated, while others would prepare for the examinations held in December, instead of June as hitherto, and finally the best pupils would engage in more advanced activities.

## Chapter VII

## ALL LIFE THROUGH

As demonstrated in the Evans and Rehn reports (the one on the distribution of working time and the other on patterns of working time), the question is to what extent the distribution of the time for study (initial education and continuing education), the time for paid employment, the time for household and family activities and the time for rest and retirement can be improved throughout life(1).

The target generally approved by the Conference was that everyone should be allowed to choose whenever he pleased the solution best suited to his physiological capabilities, intellectual capacity, family responsibilities and personal desires.

This major preoccupation combines with the concern to make opportunities more equal by offering everyone the facilities for "catching up" throughout their lives.

The discussion on these problems was one of the highlights of the Conference, even more than the discussion on freely chosen working hours.

Three main issues were raised.

### I. STUDIES AND WORKING LIFE

Reference was made to the permanent handicap, in society as it is organised today, for those who leave school too soon, while the advantage is given, on the other hand, to those prolonging their studies of choosing their occupation from a broader range, more carefully and more independently of their family or social environment.

---

1) Mr Edgar Faure, in his opening speech, also stressed the need to progress beyond "the idea of three immutable categories": learning, work and retirement.

Everyone therefore regards it as reasonable to raise the compulsory school-leaving age to 16. Is it then necessary to go further and raise it to 18?

Contrary to the opinion expressed by Mr Van Hoof and by one or two other speakers, many participants considered that this was not desirable. After 16 years of age and sometimes even before, many adolescents are no longer at ease in the classroom, where they find the teaching too abstract, too formal and too unrelated to real life.

Moreover, as one of the Canadian participants pointed out, not all occupations demand a high level of university-type knowledge. So young people should be allowed to begin their working lives at 16 if they wish, but they should be given a study credit which will later provide them with the time required to supplement their initial education.

This being the case, the extension of schooling beyond the compulsory period affects in practice an ever increasing proportion of each age-group in the industrialised countries. More and more young people begin their working life at an increasingly late date, although they are not always better prepared for it.

They should then, it would seem, be encouraged to combine the continuation of their studies with some occupation such as part-time work or else to alternate their studies with work.

*

* *

In any event, workers will be increasingly encouraged during their actual working lives to take advantage if they wish of courses of retraining or additional training.

The proportion of workers undergoing training is tending to rise everywhere; for senior staff it may sometimes be more than 10 per cent, especially in large firms.

At institutional level, the situation varies greatly from country to country. In France, legislation has made it possible since 1971 for 2 per cent of a firm's employees to take training leave <u>at the same time</u>. The "Industrial Training Act" of 1964 in the United Kingdom, and the German Act on "vocational upgrading" are to the same effect.

In Sweden, between 1 and 2 per cent of the work force is, on average, engaged in receiving training with a view to improving

the equilibrium of the labour market(1), apart from adult education. There are similar programmes in Canada. In the other countries it seems the programmes are on a modest scale, but they are spreading in all directions. For its part, the ILO is preparing a Recommendation on the right to training leave.

Obviously, such possibilities of taking part in training programmes (refresher courses, etc.) with full pay made up by the State provide a new way of adapting working time, and an important form of flexibility.

## II. WORK AND FAMILY OR HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES

Although opinions differed on this point, the problem seems nonetheless to arise, especially but not exclusively for married women with children, more and more of whom want to take a job.

Two possibilities were examined by the Conference.

### Non-working periods

Women who give up work when their children are born often wish to return to it later. A recent survey(2) sums up the successive stages of a woman's career as follows: several years' work before marriage, work being then fairly frequently dropped for a period of between 8 and 15 years, followed by a resumption of work which often goes on beyond 65, retirement pensions being too small because the women concerned have not always completely fulfilled the necessary conditions (number of years at work).

Various tendencies became apparent in the course of the discussions on this subject. Some consider that everything should be done to enable those mothers who so desire to lead a working life identical to that of a man, and that assistance to this end should be provided in the form of flexible timetables and adaptable holiday periods, as well as by provision of collective facilities for looking after small children (day nurseries). Other participants, while recognising the obvious insufficiency of such facilities in some countries, stressed that, for valid biological and psychological reasons, a young mother should be able to look after her child herself on a more or less full-time basis during its

1) Labour Market Training.

2) B.N. Seear "Re-entry of Women to the Labour Market after an Interruption in Employment".

early years during which it received the most essential part of its upbringing: 50 per cent up to the age of three, it was stated (Austria), which would suggest that the number of what the Germans call the "baby-years" should be three. The somewhat lively discussion which took place on this topic came to no conclusion.

Part-time work

According to the definition provided by the International Labour Office, which has been accepted by all the trade union organisations, part-time work consists of "regular, voluntary work carried out during working hours distinctly shorter than normal".

As understood in this way, part-time work still comes up against serious difficulties even today. It increases firms' administrative and social welfare costs, which are generally proportional to the number of employees and not to the number of hours worked. Some employers fear, furthermore, that part-time work may lead to a shortage of labour; others adhere to the tradition of the same working hours for all. The trade unionists on their side are afraid that part-time work might help to maintain under-qualification, especially for women. The legislation and regulations in many countries therefore frequently hamper the development of such work(1).

All reports confirm, however, that part-time work has been spreading rapidly for several years in most of the OECD countries, especially in the tertiary sector, and even at relatively high levels of qualification. In Germany, 20 per cent of the women in employment and 23 per cent in the United States (10 million out of 30 million) work part-time. In Japan, the number of such workers doubled between 1963 and 1970, rising from 1.3 to 2.6 million or 15 per cent of women in employment.

Part-time work in fact meets the demands of many sections of the population such as young people studying, people suffering from a partial incapacity for work, older people before or after normal retirement age and, naturally, mothers. "It is a cruel society that - through the paucity of other possibilities - compels mothers to choose only between 8 hours' work or no work at all, irrespective of the consequences for her children(2)."

1) See the report by Mr J. Hallaire. Any confusion should of course be avoided between part-time work and what it has been agreed to call "temporary employment" as organised by special agencies.

2) Report by Mr G. Rehn.

Projects are under study in the United States and France (modular systems) with a view to helping those men and women who wish to find part-time work accompanied by sufficient guarantees as to tenure and conditions of employment.

## III. WORK AND RETIREMENT(*)

1. Owing to longer life expectancy and also to the individual nature of the ageing process(1), a fairly general desire exists for individual flexibility of retirement age. Some 66 per cent of the Germans questioned during the recent survey said that they were in favour of a flexible age-limit, and the Bundestag has just passed a law along these lines.

All those who so desire should be allowed to enjoy early retirement(2) or to continue working beyond the traditional age-limit.

The above mentioned German survey shows that an optional reduction of the retirement age to 60 would have very little effect on the growth rate. A balance should in fact exist between the time lost and the time gained by production, the level of the latter not being affected by such freedom of choice.

2. It was considered desirable, in the second place, to avoid the often dramatic consequences of abruptly ceasing work and, on the contrary, to introduce a transitional period before and after "normal" retirement age during which workers should be given easier or less demanding work on a part-time basis, for example. The social and even economic advantages that might be derived from such a system are far from negligible. Experiments are in hand along these lines in Finland and also the United Kingdom (for dockers); a Swiss doctor has pointed out that people would live 10 or 15 years longer after age 65 if they continued to work half-time. Hence the hope was expressed that the very idea of retirement age could be abolished.

---

*) Cf. OECD report: "Flexibility of Retirement Age".

1) CF. report by Mr J.A.P. Van Hoof.

2) This is already the case in several Member countries. Details were given concerning the provisions being currently drafted in the United States in this connection: 50 per cent of the retirement fund may be paid to beneficiaries at the age of 50, 10 per cent more at 55, etc.

3. Lastly, the possibility of "temporary" retirement should be introduced, if need be several years before final retirement. This period of rest would be followed by a return to work; according to the case, the date of final retirement would be postponed, or not, by the same amount(1).

Conclusion

The French trade unionist who said that he was against life being cut up into "slices of sausage" (education, work and retirement) summed up the general feeling. Equality of opportunity must as far as possible be ensured, but it does not necessarily imply uniformity of choice either as regards the different forms of activity, nor as regards the period when a particular activity is given priority. On the contrary, it fits in very well with the variety of situations and temperaments, on the express condition that everyone is not enclosed in an inflexible system "where the die is cast at the age of 15".

1) Conclusions of the OECD Manpower and Social Affairs Committee.

## Chapter VIII

## WAYS AND MEANS

The aim is to make the necessary freedom of choice really feasible without adversely affecting social life.

In a given country and a given economic context (such as full employment, or underemployment), certain attitudes towards the distribution of time are more socially desirable than others.

To maintain such attitudes it was originally thought necessary to impose strict uniform rules(1) for working hours, age and level of pension etc. At a certain stage in the development of society it was perhaps necessary and useful. At a more advanced economic, social and cultural level, however, these rules are ineffectively followed because they necessarily go against the interests of a part of the population who prefer other more flexible models.

Persuasion should therefore be preferred to compulsion. Hence the success of Mr Evans' proposal, for example, that everyone be given 16 tickets conferring the right to one year's tuition, 10 of which must have been used by the end of compulsory schooling, while the remaining 6 may be postponed and spread out throughout life. Economists and teachers in the United States frequently considered suggestions of this type during the sixties. The Swedish Trade Union Centre (LO) has proposed that there should be a right to supplementary training for all those with less than 12 years' schooling, and a government commission is at this moment engaged in working out a system for financing at least part of the corresponding demand.

Such suggestions go further than existing systems of continuing or recurrent training for adults. What is at stake is a universal right under which time spent in education by the young would be combined with adult education so as to provide each

1) A complete example of this was given with the Type "A" system described in Mr G.Rehn's report.

individual with greater freedom of choice and greater flexibility in regard to studies alternating with work. But it is possible to go further still(1) and to replace the separate systems used today to finance young people's education, adult training and retirement (perhaps also paid holidays and other methods of income transfer between different periods of an individual's life) by an integrated system whose purpose would be to finance all non-working periods through a single central fund. This would receive and record all the contributions and taxes at present paid by each individual to separate funds (including the State), or managed by enterprises. Having a common fund would make interchange possible between the various objects to which separately-administered funds are at present devoted. When anyone was enrolled in this system he would receive in exchange "drawing rights" covering his needs during his studies, his retirement and, in general, all non-working periods whatever their cause, in such proportions and at such times as he might choose, to an extent compatible with the social objectives underlying the various existing systems.

In putting forward these suggestions, Mr Rehn pointed out that in fact the whole population already participated through taxation in financing the extended studies of an increasingly large part of the younger generation (and also certain adult training and education programmes). It would accordingly be fairer to set up a system under which all these contributions would be individually recorded (as are, at present, the contributions to national schemes of old age insurance), so that each one might have the certainty of being able to use the proceeds, sooner or later, for his own benefit (e.g. to improve his pension, if the amount involved has not already been used to finance study), with due allowance for the need to spread the risk.

The present system, as regards transfers of income between the active years and the years producing no direct earnings, is complicated, even chaotic at times and frequently unjust. Old age insurance (which often involves the individual having to claim his rights from a number of funds run by the State, by associations or by firms), the financing of studies or continuing training, or paid holidays are handled by different sets of machinery, with no links between them. Some social classes (not always the least privileged) benefit from this situation more than others, in ways

1) Cf. Mr. G. Rehn's report.

that are not always foreseen, sometimes merely because they are better at making use of complicated regulations. Setting up a central fund would simplify administration and could be used to ensure greater fairness.

Moreover, by offering additional benefits to people who use their drawing rights during periods and for purposes that are conducive to the efficient operation of the economy and the labour market, the flexibility and freedom of choice offered could contribute towards growth and economic stability. Such a combination of an active employment policy and the system of income transfers already exists in some respects. For instance, in some countries, the amount of vocational training provided or the possibility of early retirement can be used if needed as anti-cyclical instruments. An integrated system would improve still further the opportunities for rational action in this field.

The novelty of the system proposed by Mr Rehn, full details of which will be found in his report, seemed to disturb certain participants, who were hardly prepared for an exhaustive reform which upset the traditional concepts and called in question a whole series of existing institutions. Others, however, recognised the need to discuss forms of financing whereby the flexibility and freedom of choice desired by all could be achieved in practice.

Chapter IX

## DIVERGENCE AND CONVERGENCE

The opinions expressed both by the rapporteurs and by participants concerning the various problems mentioned during the Conference could obviously not all coincide. Even the experts, who had no brief to defend the interests of any particular category, were not unanimous in their assessments of the probable nor yet the desirable future.

It was normal that the divergences of opinion should be greater between the social partners, but they mainly related to questions that were outside the main theme of the Conference.

1. The workers' representatives generally considered that priority should be given - even today - to wage and retirement pension increases over a reduction in total working time, and to this reduction in preference to more flexible working hours. In order to enjoy one's leisure it is necessary to have the material means of doing so, and for it to be really worthwhile to choose one's working hours and days freely, it is first requisite that total working time plus travelling should not be excessive.

A Scandinavian trade union participant pointed out in this connection that an improved time pattern did not solve all problems and that the benefits of reduced or more flexible working hours could be wholly or partly wiped out if at the same time, transport or living conditions were to deteriorate.

Several participants observed, in conclusion, that the problem did not arise in the same terms in underdeveloped countries, i.e. in those where the rate of unemployment was still high and those - which were most often referred to - where full employment was more or less established.

Others also feared that a new work-time pattern might benefit the "well off" and be of no interest to those who were not so well off. The danger would be especially great for the underprivileged (materially or intellectually) and for "marginal" categories

(immigrant workers, aged or handicapped persons, rural workers transplanted into industry(1), etc.), who are at the same time the least well organised from the trade-union standpoint and least able to defend themselves against "the natural tendency of the strong and mighty to keep the biggest share of the cake for themselves". If only to protect them from the others and sometimes also from themselves, it is necessary to preserve minimum safeguards, by law or regulations, regarding working hours.

"Labour law is the fruit of a long struggle by the workers and should only be touched with the greatest caution(2)."

Other trade unionists, however, were very interested in the forms of flexibility examined during the Conference.

These differences of opinion are perhaps due to subjective factors, but above all to the fact that the same solution is not always put into practice in the same way by all employers, nor in all countries.

2. On their side, the employers' representatives, who frequently put forward views which of course were quite different from those of the trade unionists, were far from being always in agreement among themselves.

While they generally emphasized the economic constraints imposed, for example, by the use of increasingly expensive machinery, their opinions differed, as we have seen, concerning the future of shiftwork or the four-day week.

Several expressed their disquiet as regards anything which might disorganise production and emphasized, for example, the difficulty of introducing into industry a system of rotation during the annual holiday period, or freely-chosen working hours for the week or day, while others found these ideas quite acceptable.

While some (Canada, the United States) reproached the trade unions with limiting the free choice of the workers and therefore the free operation of the market, others asserted that this same freedom was necessarily expensive and that granting any additional benefit implied giving up other benefits - in short, that "everything had its price", a Malthusian view which others disputed in view of the possibilities offered by technical progress and more rational organisation.

3. Opinions thus converged on quite a number of points between the employers' and workers' representatives. Such convergence is

---

1) Example quoted among others by a participant from Ireland.
2) Statement by a Scandinavian trade union participant.

no longer the exception. It will facilitate the task of the government officials concerned, who are sometimes reluctant to set aside the uniform centralised regulations evolved to protect the workers, and are not always aware that these regulations often clash with the trend of aspirations towards more flexibility and greater freedom. Some of these officials, for example in Germany, seem fortunately to have understood this perfectly now.

Little by little, employers, managerial staff and workers are thus becoming aware of the fact that, at least for this type of problem, the interests of one and the other may be similar if not identical.

It is not therefore surprising that a broad consensus of opinion emerged from the Conference in support of the trend towards freedom and flexibility, even though, as regards ways and means, the closing statements by employers' and workers' organisations fell somewhat short of full consideration of the measures needed to implement these ideas.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Conference, by its very nature, did not call for the general discussion of a final document which would be formally debated and voted.

In accordance with his mandate, the general Rapporteur will merely set out below the conclusions which seemed to him to emerge from the work of the Conference:

1. First, certain observations may be made as to the major trends in regard to working time, which are fairly convergent, at least in the developed countries:

- trend towards a gradual reduction, for each individual, in the average number of hours worked per day and per week, the number of days worked per year and the number of years' working life;
- fairly general development of part-time work, which makes it possible for mothers, old people and the handicapped to be economically active;
- trend, at least in certain European countries, towards individual flexibility of work periods during the day, the week or the year;
- trend towards flexibility of retiring age and towards development of training for all after school-leaving age, and, finally, towards discarding the uniform division of life into three quite separate periods.

This changing picture no doubt explains why the discussions revealed a more positive attitude towards flexibility of working time than one would have been led to expect in view of the traditional tendency of workers' and employers' organisations, and of the departments responsible for social affairs, to "keep things under their own control".

2. The participants asked:

- that questions concerned with the various forms of flexible working time be more fully researched;

- that sample surveys be carried out, not only on preferences and aspirations but also and above all on the real choices likely to be made by individuals when they were free to choose;
- that priority be given to experiment as opposed to theoretical research;
- that statistics on working hours and patterns of working time be improved and standardised;
- that identical criteria be evolved for surveys carried out in this field.

The hope was also expressed:

- that the OECD would regularly provide Member countries with more detailed documentation on all of these problems, and to this end set up a special working party or even, as suggested by the French Minister, Mr. Edgar Faure, a "secretariat to deal with the different ways of employing time";
- that advisory bodies (associations, foundations, delegations, committees or working parties) would be set up in every country, as far as possible with tripartite membership, to keep under constant review all problems connected with the distribution of time and, where appropriate, to influence the development of institutions themselves; and
- that amendments be made to those legislative provisions and regulations which, although originally designed to protect workers, sometimes proved ill-adapted to the increasing variety of individual situations to be found in modern society. While it was not easy to introduce flexibility through legislation, it should be possible to remove by degrees the regulatory constraints which hamper freedom of choice.

3. Perhaps I may be allowed as Rapporteur to mention, in conclusion, a number of points which, in my opinion, received insufficient airing during the Conference and will have to be more fully discussed in the near future:

a) The practical proposals summarised above in the Chapter entitled "Ways and Means" (in particular, the reforms to be introduced in insurance schemes and the institution of "drawing rights").

b) The relationship between patterns of time distribution, on the one hand, and regional development, town planning, the planning and management of public facilities, on the

other (inter alia, the problem of bringing home and work nearer together).

c) The mutual links between an improved pattern of time distribution and the elimination of assembly line work and of the fragmentation of jobs.
Flexible working time (freely chosen working hours, rotation during holiday periods, etc.) may lead to greater versatility, promote job enrichment and give rise to closer solidarity within work teams, allow increased delegation of responsibility at all levels and, in general, an upgrading of the workers' situation.

d) Finally, the role of the school in our attitude towards time was insufficiently highlighted.

Admittedly, the direct influence of school timetables on adult time patterns was demonstrated, especially in relation to the choice of weekly rest days or specially annual holidays. But not enough emphasis was laid on the inflexibility of the educational system and its influence on the subsequent attitude of adults towards time in the sense of duration and, still more, moment: for example, the dread of having to make a choice and the fear that if this choice is different from the norm it may be disapproved by others, e.g. the employer, the teacher, fellow workers or friends.

Speaking generally, for all the reasons given in this report, flexibility in the distribution of time throughout the day, the week, the year and all through life must become a priority target for governments and the social partners. Simultaneously, there must be recognition of the interdependence between the various adaptations aspired to, and this will entail replacing isolated, partial decisions by a policy which involves looking at all the possible options at once.

Even though discussions at the Conference could not fully cover all aspects of the question, your Rapporteur would readily adopt as his own, by way of conclusion, the "prophecy" made by Mr A. Glickman: "Tomorrow, flexibility (and, I would add, the freedom that accompanies it) will become a working principle in society".

Tomorrow - or the day after? It is first necessary for everyone to prepare themselves for it.

## REFERENCE WORKS

### 1. GENERAL WORKS ON PROBLEMS OF TIME


FOURASTIE Jean.
Les 40.000 Heures. R. Laffont, Paris, Mars 1965.

FRIEDMANN Georges.
Le Travail en Miettes. Gallimard, Paris, 1956.

FRIEDMANN Georges.
La Puissance et la Sagesse. Gallimard, Paris, 1970.

GRAZIA Sebastian de.
Of Time, Work and Leisure. The Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1962.

JOUVENEL Bertrand de.
La Fonction Saturnienne, in Analyse et Prévisions, Editions SEDEIS, Paris, Juin 1969.

JUNGER Ernst.
Essai sur l'Homme et le Temps. Translated from the German, Christian Bourgeois, Editeur, Paris, 1970.

KREPS Juanita M.
Lifetime Allocation of Work and Leisure. U.S. Department Of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Office of Research and Statistics, Research Report N° 22 - United States, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968.

LIBBY William L. Jr.
La Fin du Trajet Quotidien, in Analyse et Prévisions. Futuribles, t. VII, Editions SEDEIS, Paris, Avril 1969 (N° 4).

POOR Riva/ SAMUELSON Paul A.
4 days, 40 hours. Reporting a Revolution in Work and Leisure. Bursk and Poor Publishing, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970.

PROSPECTIVE (Revue)
L'Homme Encombré. Collective work with contributions by M.M.D. Anzieu, M. Crozier, etc., No. 15, PUF., Paris, 1969.

## 2. ON PATTERNS OF TIME DISTRIBUTION

CHALENDAR Jacques de.
L'Aménagement du Temps, Descle de Brouwer, Paris, 1971. Translated into German and published by J. Hengstler KG GB Fachverlag D-7209 Aldingen, 1972, under the title "Die Neuordnung Der Zeit".

CHALENDAR Jacques de.
Vers un Nouvel Aménagement de l'Année. La Documentation française, Paris, 1970.

## 3. ON FREELY CHOSEN WORKING HOURS

- L'Horaire Variable ou Libre. La Documentation Française, Paris, Avril 1972.

ZUMSTEG B.G.
L'Horaire Libre dans l'Entreprise. Editions Delachaux et Niestlé (Switzerland).

## 4. OECD PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO VARIOUS ASPECTS OF FLEXIBLE DISTRIBUTION OF TIME THROUGHOUT LIFE

(In Chronological Order)

KLEIN Viola.
Women Workers: Working Hours and Services, July, 1965.

HALLAIRE Jean
Part-Time Employment, July 1968.

OECD et al:
Flexibility of Retirement Age, Paris, 1970.

OECD:
B.N. Seear. Re-entry of Women to the Labour Market after an Interruption in Employment, March, 1971.

International Conference on: Continuing Training and Education during Working Life, Copenhagen, July 1970.

EVANS Archibald A.
Flexibility in Working Life - Opportunities for Individual Choice, 1972.

CHALENDAR J. de
International Tripartite Conference on: New Patterns for Working-Time, 1973.

REHN Gösta
For Greater Flexibility of Working Life. Article in the OECD Observer, N° 62, February, 1973.

Conclusions of the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee on Older Workers, Workers with Family Responsibilities, Rural Workers in Non-Agricultural Employment and Urban Areas, 1968.

Conclusions of the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee on Policies on Age and Employment, 1971.

CONTENTS OF THE SUPPLEMENT
TO THE FINAL REPORT

The Economic Development in the 1970s and its Implications for Employment

by Maurice Rustant

Picture, Country by Country and Branch by Branch of the Actual Duration of Time Worked

by D. Maric

Prospective View on Patterns of Working Time

by Gosta Rehn

Distribution of Working Time

A. Working Life, by Archibald Evans

B. Working Year, by Bernhard Teriet

C.1. Working Hours per Week and Day,
Flexible timetables
Number of days worked
Choice of closing days

by Heinz Allenspach

2. Shift Work
Length of working day

by Lennart Bratt

3. Staggering of Starting and Stopping Times as Between Firms
Shorter breaks in the working day
Part time work

by Jean Hallaire

Evaluation of General Choices - Policy Problems involved

A. Evaluation of General Choices

by J.A.P. van Hoof

B. Policy Problems

by Albert Glickman

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

AUSTRALIA

BURGESS, Frank
DAN, Malcolm
SOUTER, Harold

AUSTRIA

KINZEL, Herbert
NEURURER, Norbert
PAPACEK, Friedrich

BELGIUM

BLEECKX, François
CORNEROTTE, André
DELVAUX, Georges
(O) GAUDER, Rudolf
HENNIN, Roger
PETRIDIS, Theodoor
STANDAERT, Jean-Marie

CANADA

(O) BOYD, John D.
(O) CAMPBELL, R.P.
GALLIVAN, Robert J.
HARDIE, Banning H.
(O) KINLEY, John Robert
LANG, Ronald W.
MEISSNER, Martin
(O) PARENT, Raymond
(O) PAUMANN, Mrs. Carole
PORTER, Allen
SIMS, Miss Valérie
(O) TANDAN, Nand

DENMARK

COLN, G.
MALTESEN, Ib
RASKOV, Mogens
VOGNBJERG, S. Bache

---

(O) = Observer
(R) = Rapporteur

FINLAND

BJORKLUND, Otto
JÄRVENPÄÄ, Allen Eugen
SAVOLA, Matti Rainer
SVARTSTROM, Nils Erik
SEPPÄNEN, Paavo
TAPANINEN, Antti

FRANCE

BLANC, Raymond
BUCHSBAUM, R.
de CHALENDAR, Jacques - Final Rapporteur
CHARTIER, M.
DELAIRE
DELORS, J.
ETIENNE, J.M.
(O) FORTUNEL, Mrs.
GAUTIER, Jean
GOUAULT, Jean-Marie
(R) HALLAIRE, Jean
(O) HATON, Jean
(O) LE FOLL
PERRAULT, Claude
(O) PROVENT, Miss
(O) ROUME, Mrs.
(R) RUSTANT, Maurice
VERRET, Robert

GERMANY

BEYKIRCH, Heinz
(O) BORNS, Hubert
(O) ESTOR, Marita
HEISLER, Herfried
KNEVELS, Peter
MERTENS, Dr. D. - Chairman
MUELLER, A.
PLAEGING, A.
(O) ROSEMUELLER, Christoph
STEINJAN, Werner
(R) TERIET, Bernhard
(O) WEISS, Heinz
ZMARZLIK, Johannes

GREECE

MOUROTIS, Theodore
SOTIRACOPOULOS, Miss Chariclea
TAMVAKIS, Basil

ICELAND

SIGURDSSON, Björgvin
GARDARSSON, Gudmundur

IRELAND

CARROLL, John Francis
DEMPSEY, Gerry
MacMAGHNUIS, Brian

ITALY

DRAGO, Francesco
FALCHI, G. - Chairman
GIAMBARBA, Eugenio
LA PORTA, Alberto
MISSERVILLE, Giuseppe
MURERO, Claudio
PALLADINI, Emilio
(O) TORTORA, Beniamino

JAPAN

KOMURA, Masao
KONO, Tokuzo
NAKAMURA, Tadashi
OHRUI, Nobuyuki

NETHERLANDS

van DYKUM - de JONG, Mrs. Barbera
van HAAREN, Gerard
(R) van HOOF, J.A.P.
JANSSEN, Frans Jos
(O) LANGEBEEK, René
LEMMEN, Jan
van der MEER, Klaas
(O) van OOSTERUM, Willem
van ZEGGEREN, Lambertus

NORWAY

BRANNSTEN, Per
BRYN, Bøye
LUND, Finn
SUNDSVIK, Bjørn
VERNHOLT, Thorleif

PORTUGAL

(O) FALCAO de CAMPOS, Mrs. Maria de Fatima
de MENDONCA HORTA da FRANCA Basilio Adolfo
(O) RODRIGUES RAMOS DOS SANTOS, Americo Henrique

SPAIN

GARCIA MARCOS, Celestino
MANZANO GARCIA, Eduardo
MENENDEZ MAGDALENA, Dimas

SWEDEN

(O) ANDERSSON, Erik
(R) BRATT, Lennart
EKEBERG, Lars-Olof
JOHANNESSON, Dag
KARLSSON, Göran
LINDBERG, Ingemar
SANDELL, Arne Harry
SCHARMAN, Olof

SWITZERLAND

(R) ALLENSPACH, Heinz
BESUCHET, Roger
DUC, Edouard
EGLI, Gustave

TURKEY

DEMIREL, Hakki
SAVER, Ertan Ziver

UNITED KINGDOM

(O) ABBOTT, Mrs. Janet
BOCOCK, Peter
FISHER, Patrick
GOWLER, D.
HODGKINS, D.J.
LOWTHIAN, G. - Chairman
ROBERTSON, Edward J. - Chairman

UNITED STATES

(R) GLICKMAN, Albert S.
HEDGES, Mrs. Janice
MEYER, Jack

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

International Labour Office (ILO)

1211 Genève 22

MARIC, D.

Head of Section, Hours of Work and Conditions of Life Section, Conditions of Work and Life Department.

Rapporteur

Business and Industry Advisory Committee (BIAC)

38 Cours Albert 1er,
Paris 8ème

MICHAUD, Mlle Yolande

Deputy Secretary-General

Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD (TUAC)

37bis rue du Sentier,
Paris 2ème

BERNARD, Henri

General Secretary

VARAGNE, Georges

Deputy General Secretary

Commission of European Economic Communities

61 rue des Belles Feuilles
Paris 16ème

SCHILTZ, H.

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION
AND DEVELOPMENT

ELDIN, Gérard, Deputy Secretary-General

Directorate for Financial and Fiscal Affairs

COLLEY, Gerard

Principal Administrator, Secretary of the Tourism Committee.

Manpower & Social Affairs Directorate

REHN, Gösta

Director

WEISZ, Morris

Head of the Industrial Relations Division

LECOULTRE, Mlle Denise

Principal administrator

EVANS, Archibald - Rapporteur

Consultant

ETEVENON, Jacques

Principal administrator

ATKINS, Miss Frances

Assistant

DE COURTOIS, Mme G.

Secretary

## OECD SALES AGENTS
## DEPOSITAIRES DES PUBLICATIONS DE L'OCDE

**ARGENTINE**
Libreria de las Naciones
Alsina 500, BUENOS AIRES.

**AUSTRALIA – AUSTRALIE**
B.C.N. Agencies Pty. Ltd.,
178 Collins Street, MELBOURNE 3000.

**AUSTRIA – AUTRICHE**
Gerold and Co., Graben 31, WIEN 1.
Sub-Agent : GRAZ : Buchhandlung Jos. A. Kienreich, Sackstrasse 6.

**BELGIUM – BELGIQUE**
Librairie des Sciences
Coudenberg 76-78
B 1000 BRUXELLES 1.

**BRAZIL – BRESIL**
Mestre Jou S.A., Rua Guaipá 518,
Caixa Postal 24090, 05000 SAO PAULO 10.
Rua Senador Dantas 19 s/205-6, RIO DE JANEIRO GB.

**CANADA**
Information Canada
OTTAWA.

**DENMARK – DANEMARK**
Munksgaards Boghandel
Nørregade 6
1165 KØBENHAVN K.

**FINLAND – FINLANDE**
Akateeminen Kirjakauppa
Keskuskatu 1
00100 HELSINKI 10.

**FORMOSA – FORMOSE**
Books and Scientific Supplies Services, Ltd.
P.O.B. 83, TAIPEI,
TAIWAN.

**FRANCE**
Bureau des Publications de l'OCDE
2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 PARIS CEDEX 16
Principaux sous dépositaires :
PARIS : Presses Universitaires de France,
49 bd Saint-Michel, 75005 Paris.
Sciences Politiques (Lib.)
30 rue Saint-Guillaume, 75007 Paris.
13100 AIX-EN-PROVENCE : Librairie de l'Université.
38000 GRENOBLE : Arthaud.
67000 STRASBOURG : Berger-Levrault.
31000 TOULOUSE : Privat.

**GERMANY – ALLEMAGNE**
Deutscher Bundes-Verlag G.m.b.H.
Postfach 9380, 53 BONN.
Sub-Agent : HAMBURG : Reuter-Klockner ; und in den massgebenden Buchhandlungen Deutschlands.

**GREECE – GRECE**
Librairie Kauffmann, 28 rue du Stade,
ATHENES 132.
Librairie Internationale Jean Mihalopoulos et Fils
75 rue Hermou, B.P. 73, THESSALONIKI.

**ICELAND – ISLANDE**
Snaebjorn Jónsson and Co., h.f.,
Hafnarstraeti 4 and 9
P.O.B. 1131
REYKJAVIK

**INDIA – INDE**
Oxford Book and Stationery Co. :
NEW DELHI, Scindia House.
CALCUTTA, 17 Park Street.

**IRELAND – IRLANDE**
Eason and Son, 40 Lower O'Connell Street,
P.O.B. 42, DUBLIN 1.

**ISRAEL**
Emanuel Brown :
35 Allenby Road, TEL AVIV
also at
9 Shlomzion Hamalka Street, JERUSALEM.
48 Nahlath Benjamin Street, TEL AVIV.

**ITALY – ITALIE**
Libreria Commissionaria Sansoni :
Via Lamarmora 45, 50121 FIRENZE.
Via Bartolini 29, 20155 MILANO.
Sous-dépositaires :
Editrice e Libreria Herder,
Piazza Montecitorio 120, 00186 ROMA.
Libreria Hoepli, Via Hoepli 5, 20121 MILANO.
Libreria Lattes, Via Garibaldi 3, 10122 TORINO.
La diffusione delle edizioni OCDE è inoltre assicurata dalle migliori librerie nelle città più importanti.

**JAPAN – JAPON**
OECD Publications Centre,
Akasaka Park Building,
2-3-4 Akasaka,
Minato-ku
TOKYO 107 (Tel.(03)586 20 16)
Maruzen Company Ltd.,
6 Tori-Nichome Nihonbashi, TOKYO 103,
P.O.B. 5050, Tokyo International 100-31.

**LEBANON – LIBAN**
Documenta Scientifica/Redico
Edison Building, Bliss Street,
P.O.Box 5641
BEIRUT

**THE NETHERLANDS – PAYS-BAS**
W.P. Van Stockum
Buitenhof 36, DEN HAAG.

**NEW ZEALAND – NOUVELLE-ZELANDE**
The Publications Officer
Government Printing Office
Mulgrave Street (Private Bag)
WELLINGTON
and Government Bookshops at
AUCKLAND (P.O.B. 5344)
CHRISTCHURCH (P.O.B. 1721)
HAMILTON (P.O.B. 857)
DUNEDIN (P.O.B. 1104).

**NORWAY – NORVEGE**
Johan Grundt Tanums Bokhandel,
Karl Johansgate 41/43, OSLO 1.

**PAKISTAN**
Mirza Book Agency, 65 Shahrah Quaid-E-Azam,
LAHORE 3.

**PORTUGAL**
Livraria Portugal,
Rua do Carmo 70-74
LISBOA 2.

**SPAIN – ESPAGNE**
Libreria Mundi Prensa
Castelló, 37
MADRID-1

**SWEDEN – SUEDE**
Fritzes Kungl. Hovbokhandel,
Fredsgatan 2,
11152 STOCKHOLM 16.

**SWITZERLAND – SUISSE**
Librairie Payot, 6 rue Grenus, 1211 GENEVE 11
et à LAUSANNE, NEUCHATEL, VEVEY,
MONTREUX, BERNE, BALE, ZURICH.

**TURKEY – TURQUIE**
Librairie Hachette,
469 Istiklal Caddesi,
Beyoglu
ISTANBUL et
14 E Ziya Gokalp Caddesi
ANKARA

**UNITED KINGDOM – ROYAUME-UNI**
H.M. Stationery Office, P.O.B. 569, LONDON SE1 9 NH
or
49 High Holborn
LONDON WCIV 6HB (personal callers)
Branches at : EDINBURGH, BIRMINGHAM, BRISTOL, MANCHESTER, CARDIFF, BELFAST.

**UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**
OECD Publications Center, Suite 1207,
1750 Pennsylvania Ave, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006. Tel. : (202)298-8755.

**VENEZUELA**
Libreria del Este, Avda. F. Miranda 52,
Edificio Galipan, Aptdo. 60 337, CARACAS 106.

**YUGOSLAVIA – YOUGOSLAVIE**
Jugoslovenska Knjiga, Terazije 27, P.O.B. 36,
BEOGRAD.

Les commandes provenant de pays où l'OCDE n'a pas encore désigné de dépositaire peuvent être adressées à :
OCDE, Bureau des Publications, 2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 Paris CEDEX 16
Orders and inquiries from countries where sales agents have not yet been appointed may be sent to :
OECD, Publications Office, 2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 Paris CEDEX 16

OECD PUBLICATIONS, 2, rue André-Pascal, 75775 Paris Cedex 16 - No. 31.847 1973

PRINTED IN FRANCE